

Monographic Journals of the Near East

General Editor: Giorgio Buccellati

# *Afroasiatic Linguistics*

Editor: Robert Hetzron, Santa Barbara

Associate Editor: Russell G. Schuh, Los Angeles

Advisory Board:

Ariel Bloch, Berkeley

John B. Callender, Los Angeles

Talmy Givón, Los Angeles

Thomas G. Penchoen, Los Angeles

Stanislav Segert, Los Angeles

---

Volume 3

Issue 7

December 1976

*On the Mechanism of Semantic Shift:  
Causation of Symmetric Locativity*

by

Eliezer Rubinstein



Undena Publications

Malibu 1976

## ***AFROASIATIC LINGUISTICS***

AAL includes contributions in linguistics within the vast domain of Afroasiatic (Hamito-Semitic) languages. Articles of general, theoretical interest using Afroasiatic material, descriptive, historical and comparative studies are included.

Editor: Robert Hetzron (1346 San Rafael, Santa Barbara, Ca. 93109, U.S.A.)

Advisory Board: A. Bloch, J. B. Callender, T. Givón, T. G. Penchoen, S. Segert.

---

## ***MONOGRAPHIC JOURNALS OF THE NEAR EAST***

MJNE is a system of journals on the Near East, with each journal devoted to a specialized study area, and each issue consisting of a single article. Current journals in the system are *Afroasiatic Linguistics* and *Assur.*

### **General Subscription**

For a prepayment of \$12.50 the subscriber selects random issues from within the entire system as desired, up to a total of 200 pages. The subscriber is also entitled to (1) periodical lists of abstracts from all journals in the system, and (2) reservation to any journal within the system, whereby issues of a given journal are sent on approval immediately upon publication (and may be returned within two weeks).

### **Library Subscription**

A prepayment of \$12.50 for each journal in the system secures all issues of a single volume as soon as they are published. This subscription schedule does not allow the selection of random issues; in return, a discount is provided in the form of a greater number of pages for the basic price of \$12.50 (since a volume will normally include more than 200 pages).

Library subscriptions are available to both institutions and individual scholars.

Individual issues are numbered *sequentially* within each volume. Each issue has its own pagination. A volume is closed when a total of between 200 and 250 pages is reached.

A *title page* and a *table of contents* listing all issues within each volume are sent to all subscribers at the close of a volume.

*Periodicity* in the order of appearance of issues is not predetermined. A volume, however, is generally completed within one year.

Institutional and Professional discount of 20% on single subscriptions (higher on larger orders). Payment must accompany orders from individuals. A handling fee of 80¢ will be charged to Libraries if order is not prepaid. Order from: UNDENA PUBLICATIONS, P.O. Box 97, Malibu, California 90265, U.S.A.

---

© 1976 by Undena Publications.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photo-copy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

**ON THE MECHANISM OF SEMANTIC SHIFT:  
CAUSATION OF SYMMETRIC LOCATIVITY**

by

**Eliezer Rubinstein**  
*Tel-Aviv University, Israel*

Verbs signalling "causation of symmetric locativity" will often occur within expanded syntactic frames. These latter may contain syntactic protagonists over and above those that are to be expected in the light of the underlying semantic structure of the verb. The presence of such "excess" syntactic protagonists may serve as evidence of a shift in the meaning of the verb. This phenomenon may, on the other hand, frequently reflect the presence of an attached proposition quite unrelated to the meaning of the verb itself. Expanded structures of this type may, however, in the final event, effect a shift in the meaning of the verb. Thus, verbs signalling "causation of symmetric locativity" also have other meanings which originated in the semantic absorption of attached propositions not initially connected with the verb itself.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

	page
TABLE OF CONTENTS . . . . .	1
1. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
2. SYNTACTIC FRAMES AND EXPANDED FRAMES AS REFLECTIONS OF SEMANTIC STRUCTURES . . . . .	2
3. ATTACHED MEANING . . . . .	6
4. SEMANTIC SHIFTS IN THE VERB . . . . .	8

**1. INTRODUCTION**

This study is based on a linguistic theory which considers the surface structure of a given sentence to be the realization of an abstract semantic structure without syntactic form or lexical realization. A variety of transformations determining the syntactic shape act upon the basic semantic structure consisting of elementary propositions and primitive predicates. The most important of these transformations for the case in point is that of predicate-fusion: the verb in the given sentence will frequently not be a lexical realization of the

primitive predicate (which would be a transparent realization of the semantic structure), but the realization of the fusion of a number of elementary primitive predicates.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. SYNTACTIC FRAMES AND EXPANDED FRAMES

### AS REFLECTIONS OF SEMANTIC STRUCTURES

Since the verb is the realization of an underlying semantic structure comprising primitive predicates and propositions, we must look upon these elements of the structure as the elementary semantic components of the verb. It would seem justified to distinguish between the universal semantic components of the verb and the meaning additional to that which consists of the totality of universal components.

It is an obvious fact that every verb has meaning relevant to the syntactic structure and meaning irrelevant to the syntactic realization. Thus, numerous verbs in Hebrew have the syntactic structure

$$NP_1 + \text{Verb} + \ell\partial + NP_2 + NP_3$$

( $\ell\partial$  being a preposition in Hebrew)

These verbs, while different in meaning, have a common significance relevant to this syntactic structure — namely that of "causation of possession," which is a semantic mixture of "cause" + "change to" + "X has Y" (the elementary proposition of "possession").<sup>2</sup> We shall call the meaning relevant to the syntactic structure the BASIC MEANING of verbs, and that which is additional to it the SPECIFIC MEANING.

Similarly, there will be numerous Hebrew verbs displaying the syntactic structure

$$NP_1 + \text{Verb} + NP_2 + b\partial + NP_3$$

( $b\partial$  being a locative preposition in Hebrew)

---

<sup>1</sup>In this connection, *vide* various articles by the author, and especially — Rubinstein, E.: "*ℓipne* + NP as Locative Expression and as Representation of the Notions 'Receiver' and 'Causer'" — in *Lešonenu* (Academy of the Hebrew Language, XL - 1976) (in Hebrew). The approach is close to that of Postal in Postal, P.M.: "On the Surface Verb 'Remind'" — in Fillmore C.J. & Langendoen, D.T. (eds.): *Studies in Linguistic Semantics* (New York, 1971) pp. 181-270.

<sup>2</sup>For the sake of convenience, the notation here used is

$$X \text{ "has" } Y$$

which is the case in the English sentence. On the other hand, it is obvious that "has" is not the realization of some elementary predicate in the underlying semantic structure — since the semantic structure underlying "possession" sentences contains no action. It is instructive to note here that in Hebrew there is no verb in the syntactic realization of the "possession" proposition, the sentence-frame being

$$A \ell\partial B$$

where  $\ell\partial$  is a preposition — and, obviously, in such Hebrew sentences the realization of the underlying semantic structure is more transparent than in English.



all with the same basic meaning (namely a "causation of locativity" proposition), but differing from one another in point of their specific meaning. The basic meaning, which is principally a bundle of logical-semantic relationships realized as syntactic relationships, consists of a relatively small number of final components — whereas the specific meaning, which goes beyond the basic one, is definitely non-final, since it contains nuances of meaning made up of various references to the real world. And, since these various references to the real world are not object-restricted, they may be language-specific.

A study dealing with the basic meaning of verbs may help us discover the mechanism operating in such verbal semantic shifts. This study will therefore deal with the important process of semantic shift as reflected in syntactic structure.

It is a crucial fact that the syntactic structure reflects those elements relevant to the realization of the basic semantic structure. And, while there is no one-to-one relationship between the semantic and the syntactic structure, it is clear that the syntactic components of a sentence relate in some way to the elements of the underlying semantic structure. The presence of any additional syntactic protagonist indicates the presence of a semantic relationship in the underlying semantic structure relevant to the presence of that syntactic protagonist at the surface level.

Accordingly, it is of considerable importance to the reader or listener to relate to those parts of the sentence which form the syntactic framework to the verb in its SPECIFIC frame — since effectively relating to what is present in the syntactic structure and its elements will inevitably elucidate the semantic structure. This is particularly noteworthy in a comparison of two syntactic frames of one and the same verb — thus:

I.  $NP_1 + herim + NP_2$

II.  $NP_1 + herim + NP_2 + lo + NP_3$

In Frame I, the meaning of the verb is close to that of the English verb *lift*, which means that we have here a verb realizing a deep semantic structure of "locativity causation":

A *herim* B = A "caused" ("change to" (B "in" C))

The syntactic component relating to C is not explicitly specified after this verb, unlike ordinary locative sentences — since the verb itself contains the indication that the place of the object notated as  $NP_2$  is higher after the action than it was before it.

In Frame II, on the other hand, which is the syntactic structure suitable for verbs signifying "causation of possession" the meaning is close to that of the English verb *offer*:

A *herim* B *lo* C = A "caused" ("change to" (C "has" B))

The historical connection between the two basic meanings of this verb is of no interest here. It is, however, important to note that the second meaning of the verb *herim* contains no sense whatsoever of "locative change." This is particularly noteworthy in the meaning of the noun *teruma* 'contribution' derived from this verb.

Together with this phenomenon of the syntactic structure elucidating the basic meaning of the verb, there is another important linguistic phenomenon, namely that the syntactic structure is likely to include syntactic elements over and above what may be justified by the semantic features of the verb. This is particularly noteworthy in the following sentence: *vosaraḥṭa ba'eḥ ʔeḥ-ha'ir vo'eḥ-kol-šalalah kalil lajshova ʔeloheka* 'and shalt burn with fire the city, and all the spoil thereof every whit, for the Lord thy God' (Deuteronomy XIII, 16/17). In this sentence, too — as in the one where *herim* = 'offer' — we have syntactic elements relevant to the underlying semantic structure "causation of possession": and, indeed, the communicated content of this sentence is that the city is given to God by burning. However, there is a decisive difference between this sentence and the one with the verb *herim*, in that *herim*

signals the meaning of "causation of possession." This meaning will be featured in the dictionary, while the verb *sarap̄* does not indicate "causation of possession." Here, too, the sentence with the syntactic feature relevant to the indication of possession has a verb with the meaning —

A "caused" ("change to" ("not" (B "exist"))).

In this case, we do not wish to fully elucidate the specific meaning of the verb. The feature "possession" in this sentence is ADDITIONAL to the meaning of the verb in the sentence. Thus, the full meaning of the expanded sentence is —

A gave B to C by burning B.

On the other hand, the meaning of the sentence containing the verb *herim* 'offer' is NOT

A gave B to C by lifting B

even though matters may originally have stood so.

This is no extraordinary or unusual phenomenon in language. In Biblical Hebrew, there are very many sentences in which, side by side with the realization of the meaning of the verb in its given form, there are additional syntactic elements relevant to semantic relationships not immediately obvious as being part of the semantic composition of the word. Anyone reading the Bible will thus find it extremely important to examine very strictly the actual extended syntactic structure of a sentence as compared with the expected structure, for the verb may gain a new meaning which must then be included in the lexicon. On the other hand, the additional meaning may be no more than a secondary element.

It is a characteristic feature of language that additional meanings may be absorbed in the basic meaning, or may achieve the status of principal meaning, where the previous meaning of the verb remains as only a certain nuance of the new meaning, or even vanishes completely. In this study we shall consider a group of Hebrew verbs with a common basic meaning. We shall consider the meanings additional to the basic one, and determine how the additional meaning may cause a semantic shift in the verb.

The verbs *ʾasaḇ*, *qibbeṣ*, *hiḳhil*, *kinnes* and *liqqeṣ* have the common basic meaning of "causation of symmetric locative proposition," as follows:

A *ʾasaḇ* B = A "caused" ("change to" (B<sub>1</sub> "with" B<sub>2</sub>))

The meaning of these verbs under consideration will be obvious when compared with verbs featuring the meaning "causation of non-symmetric locative proposition," such as *ṣam* 'put':

A *ṣam* B *bə* C = A "caused" ("change to" (B "in" C))

The verb *ʾasaḇ* and its class-members signal that someone (A) causes it to happen that several objects (B<sub>1</sub>, B<sub>2</sub>, B<sub>3</sub>, etc.) which were not previously together should join together, such that B<sub>1</sub>, B<sub>2</sub>, ... B<sub>n</sub> should each be the locus of the other. The implication here is obvious: if B<sub>1</sub> is the locus of B<sub>2</sub>, then B<sub>2</sub> is also the locus of B<sub>1</sub>; that is the significance of the primitive symmetric predicate "with" of this proposition.

The situation is entirely different in respect of verbs with the meaning "causation of non-symmetric locativity." The verb *ṣam* 'put' and its class-members signal that someone (A) causes it to happen that another object, or several objects, (B) be located at C. The implication here is a different one: if B is at C, this does not mean that C is at B. Thus, if there is a sentence to the effect that the book is on the cupboard it does not mean that at the same time the cupboard is on the book: the two propositions contradict each other. It is therefore a condition for the presence of the syntactic structure signalling "causation of symmetric locativity" that in the frame

NP<sub>1</sub> + Verb + NP<sub>2</sub>

NP<sub>2</sub> should signal "more than one object" —

1. *va-jje<sup>2</sup>esop laban <sup>2</sup>et-kol-<sup>2</sup>an<sup>2</sup>e hammaqom*  
'And Laban gathered together all the men of the place' (Genesis XXIX, 22)
2. *va-jjiqboš meleḥ-jisra<sup>2</sup>el <sup>2</sup>et-hannabi<sup>2</sup>im*  
'Then the king of Israel gathered the prophets together' (I Kings XXII, 6)
3. *<sup>2</sup>az-jaqhel <sup>2</sup>alomo <sup>2</sup>et-ziqne jisra<sup>2</sup>el*  
'Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel' (I Kings VIII, 1)

This holds good even where NP<sub>2</sub> stands for a noun in singular form representing a group of objects:

4. *<sup>2</sup>esop <sup>2</sup>et-ha<sup>2</sup>am*  
'Gather the people together' (Numbers XXI, 16)
5. *uḇen-hadaḏ meleḥ-<sup>2</sup>aram qaḇaš <sup>2</sup>et-kol-ḥejlo... va-jja<sup>2</sup>al va-jjašar <sup>2</sup>al-šommaron*  
'And Ben-hadad the king of Syria gathered all his host together:...and he went up and besieged Samaria' (I Kings XX, 1)

Verbs featuring the proposition "negation of symmetric locativity" have a similar semantic structure. The verbs *pizzer* 'scatter' and *hepiš* 'scatter' belong to this class:

A *pizzer* B = A "caused" ("change to" ("not" (B<sub>1</sub> "with" B<sub>2</sub>)))

In other words, A caused it to happen that B<sub>1</sub> and B<sub>2</sub>, which were together (B<sub>1</sub> "with" B<sub>2</sub>), are now not so.

6. *bizro<sup>2</sup>a uzzaka pizzarta ojbeka*  
'Thou hast scattered Thine enemies with Thy strong arm' (Psalms LXXXIX, 10/11)
7. *us<sup>2</sup>ara tapiš oṭam*  
'and the whirlwind shall scatter them' (Isaiah XLI, 16)

Similar to these are sentences where the noun at NP<sub>2</sub> is singular, but signals a number of objects:

8. *vnaḥalati jisra<sup>2</sup>el a<sup>2</sup>en pizzaru baggojim*  
'and My heritage Israel, whom they have scattered among the nations' (Joel III/IV, 2)
9. *hapišoṭem <sup>2</sup>et-šoni va-ttaddihum*  
'Ye have scattered My flock, and driven them away' (Jeremiah XXIII, 2)

Close to these in meaning are verbs concerned with putting things together or keeping them apart, such as *hibber* 'add', *hilleq* 'divide', and *hibdil* 'separate'. However, these verbs are also different in meaning from their predecessors. The verbs in Sentences 1-9 signal that objects in a certain locative state (one object together with others, or not together with others) have MOVED FROM THEIR POSITION, thus giving rise to a new locative state of being (one together with others, or not together with others). However, the verbs *hibber*, *hilleq* and *hibdil* do not signal any actual movement to a new locative state. At the same time, we are entitled to look upon these verbs as signalling the causation of symmetric locativity: as they are perceived as communicating that certain objects will either be MORE

TOGETHER or LESS TOGETHER than they were before. Hence, the transition in these verbs from communicating physical addition or separation to spiritual addition or separation is quite clear.

Compare the following:

- I. 10. *jəhi raqi<sup>a</sup>...vihi mab̄dil ben majim la-majim*  
 'Let there be a firmament,...and let it divide the waters from the waters'  
 (Genesis I, 6)
11. *vəhamej jərijoṯ hibbar ʔaḥaṯ ʔel-əḥaṯ*  
 'and five curtains he coupled one unto another' (Exodus XXXVI, 10)
- II. 12. *ben qodēj ləḥol lo hiḇdilu*  
 'they have put no difference between the holy and profane' (Ezekiel XXII, 26)

Sentence I 10 is concerned with causing the waters not to be together with other waters — not by moving them from one place to another, but by a process of separation: the sky divides water from water. Sentence 11 is concerned with the curtains being MORE together with one another by means of coupling: this sentence gives strictly formal expression to symmetric locativity by the presence of a phrase explicitly signalling the symmetry —

*ʔaḥaṯ ʔel-ʔəḥaṯ* 'one unto another'

Sentence II 12, on the other hand, only signals a spiritual process: this sentence, rather than signifying the CAUSATION that two objects should not be together, expresses the PERCEPTION that two objects are separate. It would, accordingly, seem that this sentence signifies --

"not" (A "perceives" ("not" (B<sub>1</sub> "with" B<sub>2</sub>))).

This is done by means of a metaphor replacing a sentence signifying —

"not" (A "perceives" ("not" (B<sub>1</sub> "is" B<sub>2</sub>))).

In other words, what is perceived here is a non-perception that two objects are not one. This metaphorization of the verb *hiḇdil* does not include the semantic feature "change to." In actual fact, however, this meaning — which is secondary to the physical significance historically — gained added importance and became the standard meaning of this verb.

### 3. ATTACHED MEANING

The syntactic structure assumed for the semantic features of the verbs discussed above is —

NP + V + NP.

However, some of these verbs display an expanded syntactic structure which, in addition to these syntactic elements, also displays a prepositional phrase signalling direction or source. This indicates the presence of the underlying semantic structure "causation of non-symmetric locativity" or "causation of movement" (which is the causation of dynamic locativity):

13. *vəʔasaḇti ʔet-kol-haggojim ʔel-jəruʔalajim la-mmilḥama*  
 'For I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle' (Zechariah XIV, 2)
14. *vəqibaṣti ʔetkēm min-haʕamim vəʔasaḇti ʔetkēm min-haʔaraṣoṯ*  
 'I will even gather you from the people, and assemble you out of the countries' (Ezekiel XI, 17)

15. *vəkinnaštim ʔel-ʔadmašam*  
 'but I have gathered them unto their own land' (Ezekiel XI, 17)
16. *va-jjaṣṣeš jəhova ʔošam mišam*  
 'So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence' (Genesis XI, 8)

Clearly, even this expanded syntactic frame features "causation of symmetric locativity" in the semantic structure of the verb. And, since the features

B<sub>1</sub> "with" B<sub>2</sub>                      and                      B "in" C

are totally different, we must concede that Sentences 13-16 comprise two different propositions: one generally realized by verbs such as *ʔasaṣ* and *kinnes*, and another realized by such verbs as *heḇi* and *hošī*. In other words, these sentences include the potentiality of two other sentences such as "someone gathers something" and "someone brings something to a certain place." We must therefore here consider "causation of symmetric locativity" to be a BASIC semantic feature, and "causation of dynamic (non-symmetric) locativity" to be an ATTACHED semantic feature. Now, the statement that a certain semantic feature is attached need not necessarily indicate that this feature is trivial. Thus, the main content signalled in Sentence 13 is "the bringing of the nations to Jerusalem": "someone will bring the nations to Jerusalem by gathering them." However, it is clear that the general semantic definition of the verb *ʔasaṣ* in this frame does not rest on such an expanded syntactic and semantic framework.

Not dissimilar are those sentences where the syntactic frame proper to a verb signalling "causation of symmetric locativity" is expanded by means of a prepositional phrase indicating "possession."

17. *hakesēṣ...ʔašer ʔasoṣu šoməre hasaṣ meʔet haʕam*  
 'the silver...which the keepers of the door have gathered of the people'  
 (II Kings XXII, 4)
18. *vəqibbəšu mikol-jisraʔel kesēṣ*  
 'and gather of all Israel money' (II Chronicles XXIV, 5)

It is very doubtful whether we should analyze the verbs in these sentences semantically otherwise than by allotting the feature "causation of symmetric locativity" to them. We must therefore consider that Sentences 17 and 18 contain two potentially different causations. Full paraphrases of the two sentences would then be —

- a. They gathered the silver by taking it from the people.
- b. They gathered the money by taking it from all of Israel.

As stated previously, the general semantic definition of these verbs should not be based on the expanded structure. As we shall see below, extensive use of the expanded syntactic frame is likely to shift the meaning of the verb itself. This is what happened to the two verbs in question at different times in the development of the Hebrew language.

It may be that this general uncertainty as to their meaning — i.e. whether one is faced with the attached meaning of "causation of possession," or whether one is faced with a new meaning of the verb itself — is reflected in the different translations of the Bible into English. Thus, the translators of Sentence 18 have used the verb 'gather', whereas some translators of Sentence 17 have made use of the verb 'collect' — and it is difficult to understand why

they make this distinction.<sup>3</sup>

#### 4. SEMANTIC SHIFTS IN THE VERB

There are many Hebrew verbs whose meaning has been shifted by the absorption of an attached meaning. This is what happened to different verbs signalling "causation of symmetric locativity." There are verbs which, following upon this shift, totally lost their previous meaning, and there are others whose previous basic meaning contributes a certain specific nuance to their new meaning — which, however, displays a totally different underlying semantic structure. Thus the verb *ʔasaḇ* developed the meaning "causation of dynamic (non-symmetric) locativity" already in Biblical Hebrew, where this verb had very clearly signalled "causation of symmetric locativity."

19. *va-ʔasaḇto ʔel-toḵ beṯḵa*  
'then thou shalt bring it unto thine own house' (Deuteronomy XXII, 2)
20. *va-jjīʔlah daviḏ va-jjaʔasḇah ʔel-bēto*  
'David sent and fetched her to his house' (II Samuel XI, 27)
21. *qah-ləḵa mikol-maʔakal...vəʔasaḇta ʔeleḵa*  
'take thou unto thee of all food..., and thou shalt gather (it) to thee' (Genesis VI, 21)

The extensive use made of the verb *ʔasaḇ* in sentences where, side by side with its basic meaning, it has been given the attached meaning of "dynamic (non-symmetric) locativity" has shifted its whole meaning towards one close to that of the verb *hiknis* 'bring in'. It is a decisive fact that in Sentences 19-21, and others of the same type, there will be a singular noun in object position — which would be absolutely impossible in sentences where the verb has its original meaning.

It is instructive to note how this semantic shift has confounded translators. Thus, most English translators (including those of the 1611 Authorized "King James" Version) have rendered the verb in Sentence 19 as *bring ... home* — giving it a significance of "dynamic (non-symmetric) locativity." On the other hand, the renderings of Sentences 20 and 21 differ in that Sentence 20 generally features the verb as *fetch*, while Sentence 21 features the verb *gather* itself. Furthermore, the Revised Standard Version renders the verb in Sentence 20 as *bring*, and the verb in Sentence 21 as *store ... up*.

In the following sentences, the semantic feature "causation of possession" clings to the basic meaning of the verb *ʔasaḇ*: the verb itself, in fact, has this meaning here — but metaphorically, and not in the strictest sense of transferring ownership from one person to another —

---

<sup>3</sup>Vide various English translations of the Old Testament, e.g. —

- a. The Authorized ("King James") Version of 1611;
- b. The Bible — Revised, Standard Version (The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1952).



22. *ki-ʾasaḇti ʾet-ʾəlomi meʾet haʿam hazzē*  
 'for I have taken away my peace from this people' (Jeremiah XVI, 5)
23. *ʾesop ḥerpaṭenu*  
 'to take away our reproach' (Isaiah IV, 1)

A similar — and, indeed, even far clearer — semantic shift has occurred at various stages in the development of the Hebrew language in connection with the verbs *qibbeš*, *pizzer* and *ḥalaq*. In Biblical Hebrew, the verb *qibbeš* always signalled "causation of symmetric locativity," whether that is its sole meaning in the sentence or whether the sentence contains a syntactic expansion relating to an attached meaning. In Modern Hebrew this is likewise the meaning signalled by the verb in point — and, indeed, of the nouns derived from it as well — *qobēš* 'collection', *qəḇuša* 'group', etc. And yet, side by side with these, current use is made in Modern Hebrew of the noun *qabšan* 'beggar' — the term for someone collecting money from others: in this fashion, our verb has now absorbed the attached meaning of "causation of possession."

Even more characteristic is the case of the verb *pizzer*. While in Biblical Hebrew it signals "causation of symmetric locativity," in Post-Biblical Hebrew one of its uses may be seen in sentences such as —

*pizzer maʿoṭav la-ʿaniyim.*

This is a paraphrase of 'gave his money to the poor' — or, rather, 'gave generously to the poor' — and, in this sense, we are clearly dealing with the semantic feature of "causation of possession." The original sense of this verb has here contributed the specific meaning (additional to the basic one) of 'giving generously'.

It may, indeed, even be the case that this new meaning was already current in Biblical Hebrew, as may be seen in the various English translations:

24. *pizzar naṭan la-ʾēḇjonim*  
 'He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor' (Psalms CXII, 9)
25. *jeḥ māpazzer vənosaḇ ʿoḏ*  
 'There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth' (Proverbs XI, 24)

The translators of the Authorized ("King James") Version of 1611 render Sentence 24 by making use of the verb *disperse* and Sentence 25 by using the verb *scatter*. In other words, we find no hint here of any semantic shift. The Translators of the Revised Standard Version, on the other hand, render the verb in Sentence 24 as *distribute* and the one in Sentence 25 as *give freely*. In other words, the latter translation considers that these verbs, in the instances in point, signal "causation of possession." If, indeed, the verb *pizzer* in the above sentences signals "causation of possession," we must consider the sentences to be incomplete realizations of the syntactic frame proper to this meaning, namely —

$NP_1 + pizzer + NP_2 + l\bar{o} + NP_3$ .

Further, if we are right in our assumption that *hilleq* is essentially a verb signalling "causation of negative symmetric locativity" — i.e. that it signifies separation between the parts of something, the causing that parts of something should not be together — then the semantic shift in Biblical Hebrew is greatly in evidence, and even more so in Post-Biblical Hebrew.

Side by side with sentences featuring its basic meaning, the Bible contains sentences where this verb is followed by a prepositional phrase indicating THE RECEIVER of the object, which makes the whole sentence signal "causation of possession."

26. *va-jjohalleq ləkol-ha'am...lə'ij hallat lehem*

'And he dealt among all the people...to every one a cake of bread' (II Samuel VI, 19)

Here the sense of "possession" is clearly in evidence, and it therefore seems justified to include this meaning in the Biblical lexicon among the definitions of this verb. At any rate, the use of the verb *hilleq* 'distribute' in the sense of 'giving parts' is extremely widespread in Modern Hebrew. This semantic shift finds clear expression in the derived noun *haluqa*, which has two meanings in Modern Hebrew:

- a. Causing that parts of something should not be together, which may be translated as 'division';
- b. Causing that certain objects (forming parts of something) should go over into the ownership of other people, which may be translated as 'distribution'.

Also of interest in this connection is the usage connected with the verb *halaq* in the sentence *halaq lo kabod* 'honoured him'. In this sentence, the verb has a clear-cut meaning close to that of the verb *naṭan* 'give'.

It would seem from these examples that there is a fairly straightforward linguistic process operating here: a sentence may contain a syntactic expansion over and above what may be expected in connection with the meaning of the verb. This expansion relates to the attached meaning, which is not an integral semantic feature of the verb itself. This syntactic-semantic expansion may cling to the verb, whose basic meaning then changes. A new linguistic approach stressing the relationship between the syntactic phenomenon and the underlying semantic structure is likely to shed new light on the mechanism of semantic shift in verbs.



## ***SOURCES AND MONOGRAPHS ON THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST***

***Editors: Giorgio Buccellati, Marilyn Kelly Buccellati, Piotr Michalowski***

These two series make available original documents in English translation (*Sources*) and important studies by modern scholars (*Monographs*) as a contribution to the study of history, religion, literature, art and archaeology of the Ancient Near East. Inexpensive and flexible in format, they are meant to serve the specialist by bringing within easy reach basic publications often in updated versions, to provide imaginative educational outlets for undergraduate and graduate courses, and to reach the interested segments of the educated lay audience.

General Subscription — For a prepayment of \$10 the subscriber selects random issues from within the entire system as desired, up to a total of 200 pages. The subscriber is also entitled to (1) periodical lists of abstracts from both series, and (2) reservation to given categories to be specified by the subscriber (e.g. Assyriology or Egyptology).

Library Subscription — the subscription price is \$8 for Volume 1 of either the *Sources* or the *Monographs*. A volume will average 200 pages. Periodicity in the order of appearance of fascicles is not predetermined, but a volume will normally be completed within one year.

---

### ***Sources from the Ancient Near East***

#### **Volume 1**

- 1. *The Akkadian Namburbi Texts: an Introduction.* By R. I. Caplice. 24 pp., \$1.00
- 2. *Balag-Compositions: Sumerian Lamentation Liturgies of the Second and First Millennium B.C.* By M. E. Cohen. 32 pp., \$2.40

In preparation:

- *The Epic of Erra.* By L. Cagni.

---

### ***Monographs on the Ancient Near East***

#### **Volume 1**

- 1. *The Sumerian Temple City.* By A. Falkenstein. Introduction and translation by M. Dej. Ellis. 21 pp., 95¢
- 2. *Three Essays on the Sumerians.* By B. Landsberger. Introduction and translation by M. Dej. Ellis. 18 pp., 90¢
- 3. *Structure of Society and State in Early Dynastic Sumer.* By I. B. Diakonoff. Introduction by M. Desrochers. 16 pp., 65¢
- 4. *The Conceptual Autonomy of the Babylonian World.* By B. Landsberger. Translation by Th. Jacobsen, B. Foster and H. von Siebenthal. Introduction by Th. Jacobsen. 16 pp., \$1.10

In preparation:

- *Ebla in the Period of the Amorite Dynasty and the Dynasty of Agade: Recent Archaeological Discoveries of Tell Mardikh.* By P. Matthiae.
- *Cuneiform Texts of the 3rd Millennium in Old-Canaanite from the 1974 Season at Tell Mardikh = Ebla.* By G. Pettinato.

#### **Volume 2**

- *Tales of the Old Gods and Other Essays.* By T. Jacobsen.

---

## AFROASIATIC DIALECTS

A series of grammars providing concise descriptions of individual languages within the Afroasiatic family, and directed to scholars and students in the given language areas as well as in linguistics.

Editors: Wolf Leslau and Thomas G. Penchoen

- Volume 1 (Berber). *Tamazight of the Ayt Ndhir*. By Thomas G. Penchoen. 124 pp. \$8.50.
- Volume 2 (Ancient Egyptian). *Middle Egyptian*. By John B. Callender. 150 pp. \$10.00.

In preparation:

- Volume 3 (Semitic). *Damascus Arabic*. By Arne Ambros.

---

## BIBLIOTHECA MESOPOTAMICA

Primary sources and interpretive analyses for the study of Mesopotamian civilization and its influences from late prehistory to the end of the cuneiform tradition.

- Volume 1. *Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia Chiefly from Nippur. Part 1. Literary and Lexical Texts and the Earliest Administrative Documents from Nippur*. By Aage Westenholz. xii-210 pp., 3 plates. \$18.50 (hardbound), \$12 (softbound).
- Volume 2. *Babylonian Planetary Omens. Part 1. The Venus Tablet of Ammisaduqa*. By Erica Reiner in collaboration with David Pingree. iv-60 pp. \$6.75 (softbound).
- Volume 3. *Inscriptions from Al-Hiba-Lagash: The First and Second Seasons*. By Robert D. Biggs. vi-45 pp., 2 plates.

In preparation:

- *The Legacy of Sumer*. Edited by D. Schmandt-Besserat.
- *The Economic Role of the Crown in the Old Babylonian Period*. By Norman Yoffee.
- *Seals and Sealings in Ancient Mesopotamia*. By McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs.
- *Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia. Part 2. Late Sargonic Administrative Texts from Nippur: 'Akkadian' Texts, Legal Documents and the Onion Archive. Part 3. Late Sargonic Administrative Texts from Nippur: Ration Lists and Miscellaneous Accounts. Part 4. Presargonic and Sargonic Administrative Texts from Fara and Ur*.

## AFROASIATIC DIALECTS

---

Editors: Wolf Leslau (University of California, Los Angeles): Semitic and Cushitic  
Thomas G. Penchoen (University of California, Los Angeles): Berber

Advisory Board: Giorgio Buccellati (University of California, Los Angeles): Akkadian  
John Callender (University of California, Los Angeles): Ancient Egyptian  
Russell G. Schuh (University of California, Los Angeles): Chadic  
Stanislav Segert (University of California, Los Angeles): Northwest-Semitic

*Afroasiatic Dialects (AAD)* seeks to provide concise descriptions of individual languages which belong to the Afroasiatic language family. It is primarily directed toward an audience consisting, on the one hand, of students of one or several Afroasiatic languages, and, on the other, of students of linguistics. In these volumes, both these groups should find succinct treatises such as to provide familiarity with the basic structure of the language in question in a comparative perspective. Each description will be comprehensive in scope and sufficiently detailed in exemplification. But at the same time the aim will be to cut through to the essential and to avoid specialized argumentation. The goal then is neither to publish a corpus of exhaustive reference grammars nor to provide a platform for the analytical defense of theoretical questions. In this sense the series is properly data-oriented. Though the authors will necessarily be of a variety of theoretical persuasions and each will have his own set of preferences for presentation, not the least important goal will be to achieve as high a degree as possible of uniformity in structure, and in the conventional signs and terminology used. This being accomplished, the reader should have no difficulty in finding points of resemblance and divergence amongst the languages which concern him with regard to some point of inquiry. The term 'dialects' in the series' title refers not only to modern spoken vernaculars but to historically definable stages of any language of the various branches. Publication of studies of as many such dialects as possible would provide, we feel, both an encouragement to comparative work and a sound documentary base on which alone this work may fruitfully progress.

---

**AAD 1 - Berber:** *TAMAZIGHT OF THE AYT NDHIR* by Thomas G. Penchoen. 1973, IV-124 pp., \$8.50.

The Ayt Ndhir dialect which is described belongs to one of the major Berber languages, Tamazight, spoken in the Middle Atlas Mountains of central Morocco. The description is based in the main on research undertaken with native speakers of the Ayt Ndhir territory surrounding El Hajeb. — While directed to the non-specialist, a number of points in the description proper will be of interest to the specialist as well: the presentation of noun and verb morphology points up a number of regularities which more often than not have been obscured in previous descriptions. Also, phonological rules are given which account for the major share of morphophonemic complexities. The reader will find in the appendices and 'optional' sections conjugation tables of typical verbs—including detailed observations on the placement of shwa in verbs—, a chart showing the main morphological patterns involved in verb derivation, a description of the phonological rules applying in complex sequences of morphemes of the verb group, the 'basic' vocabulary contained in several well-known lexicostatistic word lists, and a chart of the Tifinay alphabet used by the Tuareg.

**AAD 2 - Ancient Egyptian:** *MIDDLE EGYPTIAN* by John Callender. 1975, 150 pp., \$10.

This grammar deals with the literary language used in Egypt from ca. 2000 to 1200 B.C. and considered in even later times to be the classical written form of Egyptian. The book is directed toward the general linguist as well as the Egyptologist; examples are glossed and written in transcription and there is an index of grammatical terms and Egyptian morphemes. A comprehensive set of paradigms of both verbal and non-verbal predicate types is included as an appendix, together with an appendix on negation and one on the historical origin of certain constructions. — The grammar contains three main parts: phonology, morphology, and syntax, of which the last receives most emphasis. The section on phonology sketches the laws of sound change to the extent they can be discovered. The section on morphology stresses the paradigmatic character of verb tenses and their derivations. A distinction is made between truly paradigmatic tenses and tenses borrowed from Old Egyptian for quotations or special effect. Following Polotsky, the "emphatic forms" are treated as nominalizations under the rubric "manner nominalizations." Unlike previous grammars of Egyptian, this grammar discusses syntax according to transformational categories. The process of "clefting" interrelates emphatic forms, the "participial statement" and constructions with *pw*+ relatives. The process character of negation is emphasized, and the implications of so considering it are developed in a special appendix. A sample text is also included, accompanied by a vocabulary and a translation.

**AAD 3 - Semitic:** *DAMASCUS ARABIC* by Arne Ambros. In preparation.

---

All prices are postpaid. Payment must accompany orders from individuals. A handling fee of 80¢ will be charged to libraries if order is not prepaid. Discount of 20% on all orders received within one year of publication date.  
Order from: UNDENA PUBLICATIONS, P.O. Box 97, Malibu, California 90265, U.S.A.

AAL includes contributions in linguistics within the vast domain of Afroasiatic (Hamito-Semitic) languages. Articles of general, theoretical interest using Afroasiatic material, descriptive, historical and comparative studies are included.

Editor: Robert Hetzron (1346 San Rafael, Santa Barbara, Ca. 93109, U.S.A.)

Advisory Board: A Bloch, J. B. Callender, T. Givón, T. G. Penchoen, S. Segert.

Volume One

1. P. Newman and R. G. Schuh, *The Hausa Aspect System*, 38 pp.
2. J. L. Malone, *The Development of the Anomalous Syriac Verb eškāh 'To Find': A Case of Convergent Factors in Linguistic Change*, 10 pp.
3. R. Hetzron, *Extrinsic Ordering in Classical Arabic*, 25 pp.
4. T. Givón, *Verb Complements and Relative Clauses: A Diachronic Case Study in Biblical Hebrew*, 22 pp.
5. T. M. Johnstone, *The Modern South Arabian Languages*, 29 pp.
6. B. W. Andrzejewski, *Indicator Particles in Somali*, 69 pp.
7. H. Minkoff, *Graphemics and Diachrony: Some Evidence from Hebrew Cursive*, 16 pp.

Volume Two

1. D. R. Cohen, *Subject and Object in Biblical Aramaic: A Functional Approach Based on Form-Content Analysis*, 23 pp.
2. C. D. Johnson, *Phonological Channels in Chaha*, 13 pp.  
R. Hetzron, *The t-Converb in Western Gurage (The Role of Analogy in Historical Morphology)*, 12 pp.
3. A. Barnea, *Reference to Time, Space and Other Types of Quantification in the City Dialect of Gaza*, 10 pp.  
R. Nir, *The Survival of Obsolete Hebrew Words in Idiomatic Expressions*, 7 pp.
4. C. T. Hodge, *The Nominal Sentence in Semitic*, 7 pp.  
G. Janssens, *The Semitic Verbal Tense System*, 6 pp.
5. S. Segert, *Verbal Categories of some Northwest Semitic Languages: A Didactical Approach*, 12 pp.
6. J. B. Callender, *Afroasiatic Cases and the Formation of Ancient Egyptian Constructions with Possessive Suffixes*, 18 pp.
7. J. L. Malone, *Systematic vs. Autonomous Phonemics and the Hebrew Grapheme Dagesh*, 17 pp.
8. T. Givón, *On the Role of Perceptual Clues in Hebrew Relativization*, 17 pp.
9. A. D. Corré, *Wāw and Digamma*, 7 pp.  
Id., *A Suprasegmental Feature of Length in Semitic*, 6 pp.
10. Bibliographical Bulletin, 61 pp.

Volume Three

1. R. G. Schuh, *The Chadic Verbal System and Its Afroasiatic Nature*, 14 pp.
2. G. Buccellati, *On the Akkadian "Attributive" Genitive*, 9 pp.  
Id., *The Case Against the Alleged Akkadian Plural Morpheme -ānū*, 3 pp.
3. R. Hetzron, *The Agaw Languages*, 45 pp.
4. J. Saib, *Schwa Insertion in Berber: Un Problème de Choix*, 13 pp.
5. R. Steiner, *On the Origin of the hēder ~ hādār Alternation in Hebrew*, 18 pp.  
D. Boyarin, *The Loss of Final Consonants in Babylonian Jewish Aramaic (BJA)*, 5 pp.  
I. Avinery, *The Position of the Declined kl in Syriac*, 2 pp.
6. A. Zaborski, *The Semitic External Plural in an Afroasiatic Perspective*, 9 pp.  
Id., *Consonant Apophony and Consonant Alternation in Bilin Plurals*, 12 pp.
7. E. Rubinstein, *On the Mechanism of Semantic Shift: Causation of Symmetric Locativity*, 10 pp.
8. Bibliographical Bulletin, 23 pp.
9. P. Abboud, *On Ablaut in Cairo Arabic*, 21 pp.

---

Subscription to one volume of about 200 pp.: \$12.50.

Individual issues available separately.

Descriptive flyers, with complete list of abstracts and prices for individual issues, are free on request.